1: Orans E-5 (1957-1958) 1965
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177 few Hindu traits. It is the depth of change which education may
871 produce that holds such significance for Santal solidarity.

[554] Most schools, particularly beyond the first few classes, are not located in Santal villages or even *bustees* and therefore require attendance out of the social context of the Santal community. High schools and colleges are found only in towns and cities, so that the Santal attending these institutions often have to spend the entire school year in these alien communities. Removed from their own supporting social milieu, Santal students are exposed to Hindu influences; since almost all these schools are dominated by Hindu headmasters and teachers, considerable internationalization of Hindu beliefs, attitudes, and practices occurs.

177 In the Hindu-dominated schools many Santal have learned
262 not to eat beef; from their schoolmates and instructors they
871 hear that beef eating is degrading, but more than this they observe the abhorrence with which it is regarded. They are also told that beef eating is injurious to health: every Santal student has heard and many believe that "you will become blind if you eat beef during the period of your schooling." However, not every Santal who attends school abandons beef eating permanently. Many resume the practice after completing school, and some never abandon it. While some of the old, uneducated elite also learned not to eat beef, the internalization of the Hindu prohibition which is achieved in school tends to be more profound: internalization leads to wholesale Hinduization rather than the piecemeal adoption of isolated Hindu practices. In general, the longer the schooling, the more profound the internalization. Prior to the 1940's one might have expressed this relationship behaviorally by saying that the probability, e.g., of re-adopting beef eating declines with schooling, but in these days, as shall be shown, new forces have reversed matters be-

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177 haviorally. A Santal student with only a few years of schooling
262 may have learned the rank value of a given practice such as
871 beef eating, but may not have internalized the appropriate feeling of repugnance. He will therefore eat beef and drink rice beer on the sly, but prefer to be known as an abstainer.

177 The "pleasure" traits and the "pleasure" orientation, as well
554 as cow-sacrifice and beef eating, are not only part of the cul-
871 tural basis of external solidarity; they are also key attributes
181 of low rank value in the prevailing caste system. In the schools one learns, with varying force, that the dominant and powerful Hindus regard both the orientation and the traits associated with it as abhorrent and as symbols of low status. With a high school education or more, internalization is usually adequate to provide Santal with their own abhorrence of this orientation. Such Santal, particularly if they do not return to their native villages but take up residence in Jamshedpur, find themselves unable to participate in the traditional "pleasure" activities, even when they return to or visit a village or *bustee*.

What replaces the "pleasure" orientation is an increased commitment to rank improvement, adequate knowledge of the rank attributes of the Hindu world, and, in the case of the relatively well-educated Santal, the necessary internalization to display these attributes consistently and adequately. As the Santal commonly say, "The 'ignorant-illiterate' do not know who is big and who is small!"

Increased education resulting from the existence and practice of industrial employment has thus widened the cultural gap between the Santal and thereby weakened Santal solidarity. Many uneducated Santal are barely able to interact with the educated and highly acculturated. As one Santal remarked when faced with the prospect of such interaction, "I cannot go to his

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177 than their practice. For them these are the unresolvable neces-
178 sities of the new rank path. Some of these Santal whom we
668 met in 1957 had just begun to eat beef again; happily, one
[262] city Santal read in a magazine about the virtues of beef eating
for health, and his discovery quickly diffused among the rest
of the city Santal. Once I saw a young party activist who had
grown up during the Jharkhand movement persuading an older
Santal with a few years of education that he must take up
beef eating again if he wished to preserve the Santal caste. The
emphasis given to these distinctive traits serves, of course, not
only to keep Santal and Hindu apart but also to narrow the
gap between the elite and the ordinary Santal.

177 One of the fundamental changes being wrought in Santal
178 culture is an increased emphasis on work, study, and rank at-
539 tainment and a concomitant discouragement of "pleasure." A
668 number of recent songs like the following carry this message.

At work time I become drunk and forget my work.
At the time for study I spent my time making friends;
I forgot all about reading and writing.

Babu, boys the same age as you have become pundits at Tata school.
Oh brother in the city of Delhi they have become members of parliament.
Oh brother you were born in a long village.
Oh brother you grew up among friends.
Oh brother you have only become a pundit in divorced women.

Notice in the following song carrying a message like those above the use of un-Santal-like metaphors in the manner of the new "great tradition."

584 make the young man once more salute the parents of the girl and their companions. Now the girls of the house wash the feet of the visitors, and they take them inside. First they drink beer; thereupon they give them food. When they have eaten, they say good-bye to them. They return home; this is now finished.

c. Seeing house and home.

Now the girl's people go to see the young man's house and home, that they may know how their circumstances are. On this occasion the uncles and aunts of the girl on both father's and mother's side, the headman of their village and his deputy and a couple of the village people go along with them. The marriage-broker takes them straight to the house of the parents of the prospective bridegroom. Here they place bedsteads, stools, and wooden slabs to sit on before them, and they sit down. Then they bring water in loṭas[4]
[515] and brass-cups, and they salute them one after the other. Thereupon they bring wooden slabs, water and oil in an earthenware lamp-vessel, and after the visitors have placed their feet on a wooden slab they wash their feet and anoint them with oil. When they have been washed the Jǫg Maṅjhi goes inside the house, brings oil out in a small earthenware vessel and one handful of tooth-brush twigs[5] and says to them: Do come along, we shall go to the water. He takes them along there. Here they bathe, clean their teeth and rub themselves in with oil. Thereupon they return to the house and again sit down on the bedsteads, as before. The people of the house now take mats inside and say: Please bring water for the friends in a loṭa; and this is done. The visitors now wash their hands; they take them into the house, and they sit down on the mats.

The Jǫg Maṅjhi then says: Please bring the beer. This is done; first they give the village headman, thereupon his deputy, and thereupon all who are there, they give each four leaf-cups of beer. Again the Jǫg Maṅjhi says: Please bring us beer in brass-cups, each of us once; give the friends. Thereupon they give all of them beer, and the village headman says: Please, Jǫg Maṅjhi, call a girl and let her pick up and throw these leaf-cups away. She does this, and they bring a brass-cup and water in a loṭa, thereupon all of them get their hands washed over the brass-cup.

Again the Jǫg Maṅjhi says: Please bring leaf-plates; and these are brought. First they place one before the village headman, and thereupon one before his deputy, and thereupon
[262] before all who are there. The Jǫg Maṅjhi says: Listen, one of you young men come here, give us some parched rice and some flattened rice[6]. First he gives the village headman, thereupon his deputy, and thereupon all who are there. Now the Jǫg Maṅjhi says: Please, honoured friends, let us wet the parched and flattened rice. They do this, and again the

[415] [515]

[4] The loṭa is a small metal vessel, generally of brass. [5] Like the Hindus the Santals are very careful with their teeth and constantly brush them with a small twig, shaved into a brush. The word daṭaunī, tooth brush, is Hindi. [6] see Santal Dictionary s. vv. khajarī and tabaṇ.

Jog Mạńjhi says: Please, bring some molasses. When this is brought, they give the village headman and his deputy and after them all who are there. 584 [262]

The Jog Mạńjhi then says: Honoured friends, as you see, we are drying people; otherwise in olden times they were saying, the rich people dry paddy and husks, as for us, we are drying you friends; for this, honoured friends, be especially grieved. Then the visitors answer: The grieving ones, Sir, have all gone in advance, to Somae's narrow valley, to the fine sand they have gone to herd crocodiles. Thereupon they eat, and when this is done the Jog Mạńjhi again says: Listen, we have cut and cleared the threshing-floor, please, bring us again some parched and flattened rice. They bring this and give to all who are there. The Jog Mạńjhi then says: Please, bring the friends some water from the closet of the ancestors[7]. Then they give them each one brass-cup full of beer. They finish eating and drinking.

Now the Jog Mạńjhi calls out: You wife of the eldest son (if there is no such one, he will call some other girl), come here, pick up these leaf-plates and throw them away; bring some water in a loṭa, and pour some out in a brass-cup for all of us; we shall wash our hands and mouth. When they have washed themselves, they give each of them two leaf-cups of beer. They then come out from the house, enter the cow-shed[8] and sit down on bedsteads. The Jog Mạńjhi says: You, wife of the eldest son (if there is such a one there), please bring a hookah[9] and tobacco. She brings this, and they hand it over to the visitors. [515] [352] [276]

The Jog Mạńjhi now goes into the house and says to the father of the young man: Look here, Sir, what shall we give the visitors to eat with the rice? He answers: Some of you call my eldest son. They call him; he comes and says: Why have you called me, father? His father says to him in reply: I say, my son, bring the biggest castrated goat. He goes and brings it. [231]

The Jog Mạńjhi then says: Do bring some water in a loṭa. They bring this and pour the water on the head of the castrated goat; thereupon they kill it.

They ask the visitors to sit down and take food. When they have given everybody rice and curry, the Jog Mạńjhi says: As you see, Sirs, you are our friends; as for us, we are drying the friends; our ancestors of old, the rich ones, they would dry paddy and husks; as you see, we are drying you, our friends; let this especially grieve you. The visitors then reply: Yes, Sir, the grieving ones have gone to Somae's narrow valley, to the fine sand to herd crocodiles. Now they eat; when they have done, they wash and chew tobacco with lime.

Before they say good-bye to them, they again take them inside and give them beer. When they have drunk, they come out to be said good-bye to. They stand in a row, and while in this position they salute each other. Thereupon they see them off, and they go away.

[7] See Santal Dictionary s. v. bhitar. [8] During day-time, when no cattle is there, the cow-shed is commonly used for visitors. Bedsteads are placed here to sit down on. [9] See Santal Dictionary s. vv. huka and thamakur. [343] [352]

[8] Calc. Ms. — Bedding.

out mats for them. The bride and bridegroom sit down there and with them the best-man, the follower, the girl conductor, and the duenna also. The anointing girls smear oil and turmeric on them. While they are doing this they sing[39]: 585

[539]

For whom, Father, is the elephant saddled?
For whom, Father, is the Maena-like queen?

For the young prince is the elephant saddled,
For the young prince is the Maena-like queen.

*

You went to the East, my boy, you came from the West;
Where, my boy, did you find, my boy, the Kiṣ flower?

On the other side of seven seas, at the way down to the
Ganges river
Father bought the Kiṣ flower.

Now the anointing girls apply sindur to the bride and the bridegroom and their party, all who are sitting there; after having done this they wash their hands. Now they give the bride and the bridegroom rice cooked in milk, and to the others they give rice and curry. At this time the younger sister of the bridegroom forcibly takes rice from the bride; she puts one handful into the bride's mouth; thereupon they both eat their food together. When they have eaten, the anointing girls wash the hands of all. They go out gradually; the bridegroom stays with the brothers of the bride, and the bride with her duenna. [262] [607]

The Jog Mañjhi then calls the bride's brothers. Two boys of the village wash their feet; thereupon the anointing girls pour out water for them. They wash their hands, and the Jog Mañjhi says to the bride's brothers: Come along into the house, we shall have some gruel. They go inside; they spread out mats for them, and they sit down. First they give each of them two leaf-cups of beer. They drink this; thereupon the bridegroom's mother herself gives the brothers of the bride food; she makes them eat plentifully to make them pleased. Again the Jog Mañjhi says: Please bring the beer. Again they drink, each two leaf-cups of beer, of the very best. The two boys wash them. Thereupon the Jog Mañjhi takes them to a house open for all. When they have gone there, the Jog Mañjhi calls the bridegroom's party. When they come, they give them beer and food. This they call "dust removing food and beer". All lie down to sleep.

When day dawns the bridegroom's father says to the Jog Mañjhi: Please remember the bride's brothers, have they got up or not? The Jog Mañjhi answers: They are up. Then the father of the bridegroom, the bride's brothers, the bride and the bridegroom, the duenna,

[39] In a kind of fillsert.

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e. Women's work.

462 The women are constantly working. Getting up at cock-crow they pound paddy. When
512 day dawns, they plaster the court-yard with cowdung. Thereupon they draw and fetch
262 water. They next give the gruel that is left from the previous day to the men and children.
When these have eaten, they themselves take food. Thereupon they make up fire and
put the midday meal food on the fire; they cook the rice, make curry; they pin leaf-cups
and leaf-plates, ladle out the cooked rice, and when it becomes noon, they give the men
[283] and children their midday meal and afterwards eat themselves. From noon to the second
time for drawing water (about 5 p. m.) they do different kinds of work, pluck vegetables,
fetch leaves, and if they live near a forest, they go to fetch firewood, or they clear out
the cotton seed in the *carkhi*[6], they clean the cotton with a bow[7], they make rolls of
carded cotton on twigs, they spin on the spinning wheel, they wind the thread on their
fingers, that the men may afterwards use it when weaving cloth. When it becomes the
second time for drawing water, they go to fetch water, and then make preparations for
the evening meal. Some two hours after it has become dark they eat. The women eat
after the others. Most they (i. e., all Santals) eat only now and then, mostly they eat
[263] cooked rice with vegetables and split peas. The spices for meat are turmeric, Anis seed,
garlic, oil, and salt. The spices for fish are turmeric and *mithi*[8], and oil and salt; for
vegetables and split peas only salt. They talk together about different matters while inside,
thereupon they lie down to sleep. At the time of sowing and harvesting the woman plant
rice, hoe the maize, and when the paddy is ripe, they reap it. At the time of Dasãe
they make the house and door smooth: so there, this is the work of the women.

f. Children's work and amusements.

857 Until they are able to tend cattle, small boys only run about and play. When they be-
233 come fit for being cattle-herds, they tend cattle, also sheep and goats, together with the
[234] other village boys. In the morning they let the cattle out, and they tend them, two or
[223] three companions going together. They blow the flute, they hunt birds. At noon they
take the cattle to a place where they rest, that they may themselves get food. When they
have eaten, they drive the cattle out to graze, and when it becomes evening, they bring
234 the cattle to the village and take them in. At noon grown-up people milk the cows; they
give the milk to the children; what is left they keep and add to it day after day and
make clarified butter of it. To make clarified butter they boil the milk; having boiled it
they let it become curds; these they churn mixed with water; thereupon they skim off the

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[6] See Dictionary s. v. [7] This bow is now fairly rare. It is made of bamboo; at one end, the end kept in the right hand, it is compact; the rest is split and bent and a catgut string is fixed on on to make it a bow. It is worked pulling the bow-string down in the cotton and "playing" this with the thumb and index-finger of the left hand. [8] Trigonella Foenum-Graecum, L.

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r. About harbouring suspicion.

178 Formerly we had it very strict orderly, and the Santals also had a healthy fear of what
577 is right; therefore men did not look at another man's wife. If they seduced the wife of another man, the woman's husband would cut them down; therefore there was no need of being suspicious. But nowadays there is no strict order; to cut people down they have also given up, and the Santals are also becoming very licentious; therefore people have no feeling of security; men and women suspect each other; there is no happiness at home. Nowadays they are also suspicious without cause, mostly so the women. As soon as a man looks at a girl or a married woman, his wife will at once accuse him; in this way much quarrel arises, and on account of this they also beat each other a good deal. Worried by the woman good husbands have also, in anger, got themselves co-wives.

s. About envy, and malice.

From olden times the Santals have been envying each other; but nowadays it is becoming more common. Men do not harbour much envy; mostly when in their youth some girl, being unwilling to agree to them, is married to some other young man, then they feel envy. Women are awfully envious. When they see others better off than themselves, they envy these; they feel envy towards those whom they suspect. They are envious towards those who look nicer than themselves; against men who will not marry them, they feel malice, and because of this malice they learn witchcraft and "eat" them, or if they do not "eat" them, they will "eat" the girl whom they are going to marry, and the envy of the wives of brothers destroys and maimes like leprosy. Half of the mutual complaints and fining that we have, have their origin in envy and malice, because the women do not only feel envy; they "eat", and they also set their husbands and relatives aflame by their talk; and the whole village is reduced to ashes.

t. About hating and taking revenge.

152 Santals do not much harbour hate; rather they get angry and furious; such anger will not, however, last a long time.

People who hate do not let their inner anger show; rather they speak sweetly to you; still they will not leave you, until they have done for you. Women especially harbour hate, like the fire in a warming-pan their mind is burning smouldering; and only when they get revenge, then only their mind cools down. Like snakes they bite when it is dark; you will never know anything, until the poison has taken effect in you.

u. About buying and selling.

178 In a former age there was no money, it is told, neither was there any buying and selling.
433 All necessaries they were earning or making. For cooked food they had the millets iri, gundli, layo, erba, and janha, further maize, bajra, and paddy, and for curry the

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262

beans hǫṛǫć, raheṛ, ghaṅgra, autri; further alpaluạ, vegetables, fowls, pigs, goats, hares, peafowls, the Indian Gaur, the Sambar Stag, birds, and the winged creation. And salt they were preparing from saline earth. They scrape off and bring some earth, mix it up in an earthenware pot and strain it with water; they boil the water, and when the water evaporates, the salt comes there. Because it is very pungent, they cover it up in a cloth and bury it in hot ashes; then it becomes tasty salt. They were preparing this during the cold season. Oil they were pressing out of different forest fruits; they were weaving clothes for themselves. People of the Ṭuḍu sept were making all kinds of implements of iron; and they were themselves making winnowing-fans and baskets, earthenware vessels, and so on. Whether we formerly had gold or not, we do not know; but in the old country they called gold samanom. Later on people of the Baske sept were transacting business, buying and selling by barter, and since rupees and pice have appeared, we buy and sell using money. Formerly also the village people were bartering, some bartered buffaloes for goats, some goats for pigs, and so on.

Nowadays people of both sexes have become very lazy; they do not press oil, neither do they prepare salt; they do not much weave cloth either; they buy everything; thereby we Santals are becoming poor, and we are becoming deeply involved in debt to the money-lenders.

v. About debts and loans.

In former times no people were getting into debt or taking loans from the money-lenders; and there were no money-lenders either. In the Sikhar country the money-lenders found us for the first time. There the first money-lender with the Santals lived in Nanduạṛa. From that time up to now we are in their hands, and they are tearing us up like vultures. By constantly paying we become numb; still the debt never comes to an end. They say: "If a seer has come into the house, it will never get out again"; "a Deko usurer, an old hyena, even old bones they crunch". Really it was also due to hardship in connexion with these that we ran away from Sikhar. At first they did not unrighteously charge us interest to such a degree; they were taking only 25 pct., in paddy or money; but gradually they commenced to charge exorbitantly. For a debt of three or four rupees they would without justice or reason drive pair after pair of plough-cattle away, and if you remonstrated with them, they would at once commence to strike.

But there is fault also on our side. Foolishly the Santals run into the hands of the usurers; whether they will be able to pay back or not, this they do not think of, and when they have what is needed to pay with, they will not pay at once; consequently interest upon interest is heaped up; thereupon the money-lender comes and carries all and everything away. And in the present age many Santals also deceitfully cheat the usurers and money-lenders of what is their right.

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brothers and intimate friends will, risking their life, try to rescue each other; they will either rescue the man, or they will all let themselves be eaten. Nowadays people have become very cowardly; as soon as they hear the word "a tiger, a tiger", they run away, with their loin-strip hanging down in their hand. 224

When it becomes evening, they come out from the forest and go to the place where they are to spend the night. When they have come together, the men of every individual village collect in one place the Mahua-dough or the flour, and sharing this among themselves they eat. We have a story about this. Formerly once, it is told, a poor man had brought with him some fig-dough, because he had no food. At the place where they spent the night, the people of his village, seeing this, did not mix what he had in with theirs; they said: What have you brought? eat what you have yourself, as best you can. And so, poor fellow, he stayed on there eating just this. Next day he shot a Nilgee. Then instead of shouting the name of his village, he shouted "Fig". The men of his village came near and said: It is our deer, fellows! So and so has killed it. The people of the country-side asked this poor man: Why did you shout in such a way? He then told his grief before the country people, saying: When yesterday evening the dough was divided they kept me outside. When they heard this, the country people scolded them a good deal, and the men of the village became humble. They fined them severely through the people of the country-side. From that time up to the present day we do not act in such a way. 224 262

When they have eaten the dough, they commence to prepare rice and curry. The camp fires look like a burning forest, such hosts have assembled. They who cook the rice do this, and some men singe the horse and peafowls; the stomachs and legs they make into curry. Felled deer remain as they are. When they have had their evening meal, the hunt-priest calls out that they are to have their council meeting. Thereupon five or six men from every village go to the meeting, and others blow the flute and sing forest songs; they are highly lascivious; some lie down to sleep. The young men from the village of the hunt-priest wander from camp to camp, singing and begging (as at the Dasae festival), and the men of the camp each give them a handful of rice, and they on their side make all kinds of fun, and make people laugh. 224 793

The hunt-priest is the headman of the hunt-council, and the people of the country-side are his tenants. Where he sits down to have the council, there the hosts gather, and sitting round there they keep him in the middle, as when there is a halo round the sun. Leading men sit down near him. The hunt-priest now asks the people of the country-side: Do, Sirs, men of the land, if any of you has any distress or grief or any unsettled quarrel, let us hear. Are we all well or not? The men of the land then answer him: So far as mind and body are concerned, we are well by your blessing. The hunt-priest then answers: By the blessing of Thakur we shall get what is good.

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Fourth stanza:—

For land are they fighting,
For boundary are they fighting,
For homestead are they fighting.

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829

Here an explanation is forthcoming as to who the Kharwars were. We have already seen that some Kharwars are said to have accompanied Ram Chandra, in his fight against Ravana of Lanka (Ceylon). Now the Santal traditions say that upto the period the people were at Campa, the Santals, Birhors, the Mundàs and Kurmbis (Kurmis)[1] were called Kharwars. The Birhors were outcast because they ate the flesh of monkeys, considered as their taboo.[2] At Campa, the Mundàs were gradually separated and the Kurmbis gradually adopted Hindu customs.

We hear that some Kharwars entered into matrimonial alliances with a section of the Hindus known as Siñs. Gradually their descendants became known as Siñs. They founded kingdoms. Some Birhors also became Siñs.

It is narrated that in ancient times one of the Siñs lived as man and wife with a daughter of a

1. A Santal can now even marry a Kurmbi girl. They are now found more in Hazaribagh, Manbhum and Purulia. [582]

2. The Santals of Mayurbhanj said that they never ate monkeys. [262]

Jt Mukherjea O. Y-4,5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1902
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173 a grassy field called Bàri badwak' [Dr. Campbell says that it means a common grass. (*Panicum Colonum*, [262] L.n.). The seeds are eaten during scarcity of food]. Then they crossed a forest and found themselves on the plains of Jona Jòspur. From this place they came over to Khàspal Belaoñja.

Here, they scattered themselves in many directions as they chose. Some went to Sir, some to Sikhàr, while others to Nagpur. Thenceforward, [177] [648] the Santals were, to a greater extent, under Deko (non-Santal) influence. They could preserve their independence only by contracting matrimonial alliances with the Hindus. They are no longer called 101 173 Kharwars. Here an explanation as to why they are called Santals, is forthcoming; for there are some who say that as they lived for some time in the country of Sànt.[1] beyond Sikhàr, they are called Sanotar[2] (*Santal*).

1. Sant = The Santals of Mayurbhanj according to the [175] Census report of 1931, were called Kherwals or Kherwars (Santals Puritan) before they settled in the country round about a place called Saont in Midnapur. P. 151. Risley (*People of India*, App. VIII) says that Santals ruled here for 200 years.

2. From Saont, Risley adds, "Again pressed by the [177] Hindus, they wandered on under a Raja called Hambir [648] Singh to the eastern part of the Manbhum district near [167] Pachet. Here after a while their Rajas adopted the Hindu religion and set up as Rajputs, so that at the present day they intermarry with the family of the Raja of Surguja.

3t Mukherjea O. Y-4,5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1962
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cordifolia), Pipal (*Ficus religiosus, Willd*), Palas (*Butea frondosa*) lac-bearing Kusum (*Schleichera trijuga*) are the flora here to be seen in profusion.

Of these, the most predominant and characteristic tree to the Santal areas is the Sal, called *Sarjom* by them, and its distribution is general. It is a tree yielding a hard timber, straight and tall and shining with glossy leaves. It is holy with them, and with it they make their Jahèrthan, (*Holy Grove*). Such straggling clusters of Sal trees are found all over the countryside near Santal hamlets. The Sal serves them the same purpose as the bamboo to the rest of the population. With its leaves they make leaf-cups and plates and its timber invariably goes to their house-building. More useful is the Mohua. Its flower contains sugar and is therefore sweet to eat and nutritious too. The Santal preserves it as food by drying it in the sun and it serves them well for months to come. It serves the same purpose as the mango and the jack-fruit to the rest of the population, who during those seasons take them as their chief diet. The pulp of the fruit is eaten and its kernel yields an oil which is chiefly used by the tribe for their culinary purposes.

March and April are months of joy for the Santal like the Cherry-blossom season in Japan. The Mohua and Sal trees are then in full blossom with their whitish flowers. In the early morning one sees

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462 512 go with their cattle to look after their agriculture. [264] It is about 9 a.m. that they can think of a breakfast, when the women convey to the fields a plate of [262] "Bàsiàm damari" (*rice soaked in water and kept overnight*) which they eat with relish with a pinch of salt and some "sang" (*fried leaves*) generally of "sajina" leaves. Now refreshed with a meal, they work on till midday. The women are in the meantime busy with the hearth, cook and clean the yards and houses with cow-dung. The men return from [264] the fields at noon and bathe and eat their noon-day meal, again of soaked rice and "sang." Now the [515] women can think of their food and this they take [264] after a bath and after the men have dined, exactly [171] like their Hindu sisters. It is now time for men to take some rest. They loll on "parkòms" (*stringed bed-steads*) and doze for a time and are off to their fields at about 2 p.m. in the afternoon. There they [517] dig, plough or sow till 4 p.m., and after returning from the fields go round the villages, visiting friends or indulge themselves in village sports. Meanwhile, [264] their wives cook their supper, draw water and husk paddy and again at about 5-30 p.m., the family take dinner, the same menu being repeated. The children are fed first, the men next, the women, last of all.

With evening, the Santals as a tribe shut themselves indoors. If you ask them, "Why do you retire so early?" They will perhaps answer with a bland

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Fire

372 As regards the use of fire, they have no special technique of their own. Some buy match-boxes, others borrow them from neighbours, nor is fire kept burning all day. It is only when the men go to the jungles on hunting excursions that they light a fire by the friction of wood. Their ovens did not strike us with any originality, being mud-plastered earthen affairs rising almost a cubit from the plinth, so arranged that the pots may rest on three triangular supports, the only novelty we marked being at Tikaripara, where we were shown one made of red mud, as an item of kitchen sculpture. (See illustration).

252

Santal Oven

Food

252 Boiled rice is the staple food of the Santal like
262 the rest of the neighbouring population, but there is something in the preparation that keeps the vitamins intact. It cannot be otherwise, for, the rice is "dheñki"-husked by themselves ; they do not give it a preliminary washing before pouring it into the cooking pan and allow all the water to be saturated by the grains in the process of cooking. As
262 regards the side-dishes, their neighbours and visitors indulge in their sense of humour when they refer to

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Santal food. "A Santal will manage to live where even a rat would starve," said a Missionary to Man more than seventy[1] years ago ; and wandering in the Santal lands we heard comments, "O, they will eat anything that flies except aeroplanes and anything that swims except boats."

They eat almost all the available kinds of fish and crabs and have a great relish for meat, which they preserve in a way of their own. We saw at the house of Sham Mārṇḍi, a village Chowkidar, that a pig sacrificed during the June sowing festival was being cut to pieces, and learnt that these would be dried in the sun for three days after being mixed with salt. At the time of cooking, these pieces, soaked in water and mixed with salt and turmeric, would be placed on ovens in earthen pots. The Santal would fry the whole with "mohua" oil if available, and thereafter mix it with water and boil it for half an hour, chillies broken to pieces.being added to improve the taste. Fowl is a luxury to be eaten on festive occasions and when a guest arrives in the house. It is cooked in a similar process. With an embarrassed look the Santals confessed that they eat carrion, but added that they cook it in an outer house, which implied that under the influence of Hindus they have come to look upon it as a pollution.

1 Ref. Man, *Sonthalia and the Sonthals.*

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lution. Added to these, many worms and insects like "Kurkuti" (*red-ant*) and "Kalei" (*termite*), the flesh of various animals like tigers, bears, crows, mice, frogs and snakes constitute their menu and suit their palate.[1]

Coming to delicacies, one comes across cakes called *lil-pitha*. A Santal matron thus taught us how to prepare it. At first "atap chal" (*sun-dried rice*) is ground to powder. Next, minute pieces of raw meat, may be pork, mutton, venison or fowl, mixed with salt and turmeric are kneaded together with the rice-powder and placed on a "sal"-leaf, while another wraps it round. The leaf-envelope is thereafter placed on red-hot charcoal or on a pan, and thus baked. The cake is shaped like a circular "chapati" (*Indian bread*) and cut to pieces when served to guests on ceremonial occasions. They are never kept over, and one must, as the lady of the house explained, eat them on the same day of the preparation. A second cake of their domestic confectionary has the onomatopoeic name of "chor pitha" because of the cracking hiss it makes on pans during the frying process. Sun-dried rice is ground, mixed with water, made into a thick fluid and then fried like an omelette with "mohua" oil. A third cake,

1 Ref. *Mayurbhanj Census Report*, 1931, Vol. I, p. 192.

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"dumbu pitha," is shaped like eggs with powdered rice, treacle and salt. It was explained to us that in the process of baking an earthen pot has to be placed on an oven with water. The cake is then placed on a miniature bamboo basket and simmered in steam.

Various kinds of edible leaves are eaten by the Santals, among them "Siñ aṛak'" (A small tree, *Banhinia Purpurea*, Linn., the leaves of which are eaten as a pot-herb), "Purai aṛak'," (Beng. Pui sang, *Basella Alba*, Linn.) "Kedok' aṛak'" (The supper pot-herb, *Argyreia speciosa*, Sweet; Oriya, Kendo sang), "Maṭha aṛak'" (A pot-herb, *Antidesma Diandrum*, Tulas; Oriya, *Khata*) and "Mungà aṛak'" (Horse-radish leaves, *Moringa pterygosperma*, Gaertn.) deserve mention. These are generally boiled in water and eaten with salt, and as an occasional luxury fried with "mohua" oil. The Santal, we learnt, has no relish for mustard oil, the favourite culinary recipe of the Bengalis. Besides, they eat various kinds of flowers like "mohua," (*Bassia Latifolia*), Horse-radish (Bengali, *sajina*), "Kohnda baha" (pumpkin flower, *Cucurbita moschata*, *Duchsne*) fried with "mohua" oil when available, or boiled simply in water. They do not use spices or even turmeric in the preparation of these flower dishes, the exception being garlic, onion and pepper.

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262 252 Another article of food, called "Hàṇḍuà," prepared from the young shoots of the bamboo is relished by them. We learn that when the shoots of the bamboo are a foot or so above the ground they are gathered and taken home. They are then cut into thin slices and ground in the "ḍheṅki" (*husking implement*) into a kind of flour. This flour is put into a pot, the air being excluded, and allowed to stand for three days. It is then taken out and spread upon a flat stone and dried. It is then "hàṇḍuà" and is used to make "utu" (*relish*) and "bhàrtà" (*chutney*).[1]

[251]

262 252 137 Among fruits eaten raw, "Ul" (mango), ripe "Matkom" (Beng. *Mohua* ; *Bassia Latifolia*), ripe "Kanthar" (jack-fruit, *Artocarpus Integrifolia*, Linn.), ripe figs (Santali, *Loa* ; the fruit of *Ficus glomerata*, Roxb.), "Banyan fruit" (*Ficus Bengalensis*, Roxb ; Santali, *Bare*), "Terel" (*Kendu*, Oriya, Beng. *Gab* ; *Diospyros Tomentosa*), "Tarop" (Charkuli, Oriya; *Buchanania latifolia*), "Kankuri" [(Oriya Cucumber; *Cucumis sativus*, Linn.)] and "Bhurudu" (Santali for a jungle produce, *Gardenia S.P.*) deserve mention.

Fruits also constitute items in kitchen delicacies and green-mangoes (*Mangifera Indica*), tamarind (*Tamarindus Indica*), the peel of the "mohua" fruit,

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1 Ref.: Dr. Campbell's *Santali to English Dictionary*, p. 234.

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boiled in water and mixed with salt and turmeric, serve as sauces in the Santal dinner.

We have already got some idea about the Santal use of "mohua" oil in cooking. This oil, they massage also over their bodies, but after and not before their daily ablution, as is the custom with some Hindus. Like the rest of the world, they delight in a smoke of tobacco. We have already noticed the preparation of the "pungi", the Santal cigarette, called also *chuti* in the Santal Parganas. This is, we were told, men's monopoly, the women smoking only occasionally. But raw tobacco, mixed with lime in the form of "khaini" (*Hindi*) is chewed frequently by both men and women as a perpetual stimulant.

No review of the material background of Santal life will be complete without a reference to their domestic animals. Cows, buffaloes, sheep and goats meet your eyes in the cattle-yard; pigs grunt, geese cackle and fowls flutter about mixed up with pigeons flying down from their improvised nests inside earthen pitchers suspended from roofs.

Drink.

"Give me rice-beer, or give me death," may be the summary of a Santal's instinctive craving for

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The special feature of the festival is that articles for worship are supplied by the priest himself, and only the male members of the tribe are allowed to eat the meat of the animals sacrificed. The priest then prays to the god *Ianthar* with the following incantations:—

We salute thee Father Creator *Pargana*.
We offer you all these in the name of *Ianthār*;
We pray that whatever we may eat, we may digest.
Let there be no diseases like headache, diarrhoea and bowel-complaints.
And bless our crop in the field, and grain in the barn.
Protect them from rats and other pestilence.

Ianthar (called by Risley *Ianthar puja*) is in effect the offering of the first fruit of low-land paddy, as *Iri Gundli* is of millets. Another name for the festival is *Baihār Horo* Nanwāni.

In course of our enquiries in Mayurbhanj, many Santals stated that this festival passes under the name of *Maamane*[1] there, as was very clear from the fact

1. One wonders if the name is Mak' *Mónṛén* in disguise. It is stated by Dr. Campbell to be a festival observed by the Santals after five years or so when the god "*Mónṛénko*" is propitiated with the sacrifice of a white goat. The account in the District Gazeteer of the Santal Parganas considers it "an occasional sacrifice performed as the result of a vow made at a time of great distress", when sacrifices are made to all the national *bongas* in the *Jabérthan*.

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796 the Hindu festival prevalent on the day. This
[269] is also called *Sakrant puja* and performed on an elaborate scale at Mayurbhanj, when *chira* (flattened rice) and molasses are offered to the dead ancestors.

796 On the first day, called "Banuṇḍi," people catch
• 262 fish and crab in the belief that if they can eat them on the day, they will be given a long lease of life. Tasteful cakes of meat, sun-dried rice-flour are prepared in all households ; and after baths, the Santals eat them with treacle and *til* (sesamum),
[273] *chira* (flattened rice) being a compulsory item. Meanwhile, drinks of rice-beer go on.

796 Towards evening, the people indulge in archery
[526] competition on a target placed on a plantain tree. The successful one is cheered by the tribe and conveyed to the Headman's residence with a great demonstration, where the tribe is entertained with rice-beer and fried-rice. He, who can maintain a uniform record for three consecutive years, is awarded a special prize by the Headman, amidst tribal songs and dances.

The conclusion of the festival sees a great deal
[532] of mirth in all the houses. Puppet monkeys made
[574] of straw are made to dance from house to house. People raise subscriptions for a tribal dinner and the country-side rings with merry music and laughter of a good time.

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668 common platform. They long for the development of their distinctive culture—a pre-Dravidian Jharkhand.

177 648 [641] Now with Independence, and its concomitant adult franchise, things are undergoing a rapid transformation. The Santal, along with the other aboriginals, like his more civilised brethren has got to handle a ballot paper. They see that the more advanced Indians are trying to have a better standard of life and are rushing in for more and more of education, for amenities of life hitherto denied to the hill and jungle-folk. Development plans of the government, Community projects, programmes of tribal uplift are gradually throwing open to them roads, motor lorries, schools and fineries. Planes buzz over them, radios blare and torch lights flash. With all the glare of modernism in their eyes, is it a wonder that these aboriginals, so long living idyllic lives in the backwoods of songs and dances are puzzled at the threshold of a New World?

177 So long the seeds of a new order were in the air. Old sets of value now seemed disturbed. In [184] Bolpur area, one could notice new house-types with [342] windows and furniture, they lacked in the past. [352] Santals were found chewing betels, drinking less and [27] taking to milk and tea and cigarettes. Many have [262] given up beef like the Hindus, even buffalo meat and pork have gone off their menu. The old Santal

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2. Carrion should not be eaten. The signatories refer to this custom with feelings of shame.

3. Santals should not dance or sing anywhere except in their houses or villages. The manifesto reminds the tribe that the Europeans, Hindusthanis, the eastern hill-tribes sing and dance, but they avoid the hill-sides and public places. The ancient Santals had no public dancing.

4. Force should not be resorted to without reason as it slackens the marriage tie and gives rise to various vices.

5. Santals should wear coarse cloth and their women should give up wearing glass-bangles.

During my last visit to Mayurbhanj, I found the air thick with these ideas, specially among the educated Santals and there was a noticeable tendency to give up dancing and singing in public. It became clear to us that aboriginal sets of value and philosophy of life were undergoing a perceptible change. Times are gone when the tribes joined with the rest of the population in their pujas and festivals as in the past. To a discerning eye, this ban has robbed the tribes of the *joie de vivre* to a great extent and the infiltration of political ideas plus a realisation of their rather poor economic life, has cast a pall of gloom even on the denizens of forests, hill-tops and wide expanses of laterite soil,

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movement of Venus), should better be left to psychо-analysis. 833

Now the problem is, if the continual gratification of the desires dulls the edge of passion and transforms it into a lust. Is the sex-consciousness not impaired thus or does it remain generous, spontaneous and romantic? What we could gather from younger and middle-aged Santals seems to lead to the inference that the erotic life of the Santal is full of joy upto his fortieth year in the minimum and fiftieth in the maximum. Added to this love adventures, as in dances and jungles, give him the keenest delight. 833 152

Older Santals however, striking a different note, told us that joy in coitus remains till three children are born. Thereafter "they cannot shake the loins well". According to them abundant sexual energy comes at twenty years and it does not leave one, till one's thirty-fifth year. They agreed that those who commit lôtghôti (illicit sexual intercourse) receive extreme joy from their adventures. On the point of virility, they opined that those who can eat two seers of rice at a sitting are more capable in the sexual act. Ordinarily, Santals cannot afford more than half-a-seer of rice at a meal. [262]

As regards the repercussions on the emotions of the Santals should they be refused by girls when sexually-approached, we gathered that normally the 152 832

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241 on a steep hill-side; when the wood of the felled
17 trees is dry, generally toward the end of the hot season, it is burned. In this way the ground is cleared, and when the rains set in, the seed is sown without any ploughing. The present-day Paharias make small holes with a crow-bar and drop the seed into the holes, especially of bajra, Sorghum vulgare Pers., of maize and of a few other kinds. This is all, except that they may
241 pluck away weeds. It is said that when the Santals in former times followed a similar mode of cultivation they simply sowed the seed (especially bajra) at the top of the cleared hill-side, the spreading being left to the water of the rains flowing down; in some cases, a branch of a thorn-tree (Zizyphus Jujuba Lam.) is said to have been pressed into a flat shape and dragged over the ground to spread the seed".

243
46 From early morning till evening they work in the
556 field. Rice is their staple food; in it wealth is reck-
262 oned and from it they obtain their drink. Both sexes
462 work in the field. Every man tries to secure agricultural fields near his house and also near a streamlet flowing. They cultivate their soil and also gather natural produce when their crops do not grow due to want of rain or for some other reasons. The Santals prepare two kinds of rice field. One type is adjoining their houses, the other is at some distance away from their houses, which is on high land.

Preparation of ricefield :— After selecting the site, the Santals clear the field of jungle and vegetation. Then they surround it with ridges but if the land is
412 slopy then they make the ridge only on the lower
407 side. With the hoe and a heavy leveller (karha) they

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FOOD

262 The Santals eat almost everything. They generally live on vegetable diet because they cannot afford to eat meat often, but when they get meat they eat too much. Their staple food is rice which is prepared in the following way. They put rice into an earthen vessel containing a sufficient amount of water and is boiled, a plate is put on the top of vessel to keep the steam within, which causes the mass to be evenly cooked.

252 262

Besides boiled rice, the Santals eat parched rice which they call 'Khajari'. They put some sand in a broken or shallow earthen vessel and place it over the fire-place. They sprinkle some salted water on the rice which is to be fried, and mix it properly. Some of the rice they then place over the heated sand and stir it with a few broom sticks of coconut leaves. When the rice properly swells, they take it out of the sand. and eat it smeared with mustard oil or with molasses.

[263]

From rice they prepare cake, the local name of which is 'Pitha'. They have got a large number of varieties. Rev. P. O. Bodding in his memoir on "How Santals Live" has given a detailed description of all the varieties. A few I am quoting here from his writing :-

"JEL PITHA", meat cake. Sun-dried paddy is husked and cleaned, soaked in water for a little while, then dried and made into a coarse flour and sifted. The flesh is cut into small bits. Turmeric, pepper and other spices and salt are ground fine. All is well kneaded and mixed into the flour, that has been moistened. The whole is then pressed down on a leaf-plate. Another leaf-plate is with the help of

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strawpins fixed on as a cover. The whole is placed into a fire-place, where there are live coals, and on the top more live coals are put. When ready the whole is taken out and eaten. This is much relished. The flesh used is mostly that of pigs or of fowls, also of sacrificed animals. 252 262

'KHAPRA PITHA', made from rice flour. The flour is made into a batter with water, nothing being added, except sometimes a little salt. Some batter is put into a shallow earthenware dish (karahe) a little oil being rubbed on the batter to prevent it from sticking to the dish. An earthenware lid is pressed down on the batter; and the dish is then put on the fire-place and heated. When ready fried, the karahe is taken off and turned, so that the cake falls out, and fresh batter is put in. This pitha is fairly large. Khapra is the Santal name for a roofing tile or a large potshered.

'OT PITHA', mushroom cake, prepared like jel pitha, with mushrooms instead of flesh or meat. If the opening of the fire-place is small, a large potshered is placed on the fire. When this is sufficiently heated, the patra (leaf plate) with its contents is placed on this. When baked on the underside, the whole is turned over with a twig to get the other side baked.

The Santals cultivate pulses of different varieties in their field. These pulses they boil in water and mix with turmeric, spices and salt. When it becomes semi-liquid they take it off the fire. This cooked pulse is called 'dal', and is taken with boiled rice. [244]

Following are the pulses which are commonly eaten by the Santals. 262

(1) Arhar (Cajanus indicus spreng).

(2) Khesari (Lathyrus Sativus L.)

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(3) Mug (Phaseolus Mungo Linn.).
(4) Musuri (Lens esculanta Moench.).

262 The Santals prepare curry with different vegetables
263 which they collect from the jungle or they produce
252 in their own kitchen garden. Potato is rarely used by them. From the jungle they collect certain edible roots, leaves and mushrooms, and with them they prepare curry. Pumpkins, sweet potato, brinjals, jhinga, ladies finger, beans, radishes, and onions are used by the Santals for curry.

262 The Santals eat various types of fruits, the most common are the followings :- jack fruit, guava, plantain, black berry, tamarind, papaw, etc.

The Santals relish animal food very much. They eat the meat of almost all birds and animals with the exception of tiger, leopard, horse, monkey, dog, mole, eagle, hawk, some types of frog, elephant and cat. They are very fond of the meat of pig, young crow, mouse, and hare.

231 They kill pigs in the following way:-
252 They let out their dogs to catch a pig which runs hither and thither on being frightened. They then shoot arrows at the pig. When it falls on the ground, they strike it on its head with a big stone. After it dies, they burn it in the fire, and when all the hair of its body is burnt, they cut it into pieces and cook it.
252 Birds are similarly treated to remove the feathers.
262 Fishes are eaten mostly as curry. Now coming in
262 contact with the Hindus of the neighbouring areas, the
177 Santals have ceased to eat meat of many animals.

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614 None of these appear to be associated with the idea of culture heroes as amongst the Amerindians. [538] The folk-lore shows indeed some stories centering round the plants (betel-palm, Panjaun tree, Sabai grass) and animals (tiger, jackal, leopard, crab). Besides these some of the clans' names centre round industrial objects and articles of usefulness such as chain earthen vessel, etc. These would be more in line with a belief in objects possessing mana and venerated as such and gradually getting associated with exogamous sub-divisions which might have had a hand in the invention or diffusion of those useful objects. [796] There is no seasonal recurring ceremonial round these objects meant for the preservation or propogation of the animals or plants venerated as ancestors, as in Australia. [784] There is indeed some taboo in the use by the particular sub-clan of the plant and animal venerated as its ancestor. The animal and plant thus venerated are taboo to the clans; none can hunt it, nor can they partake of its flesh. But because of the observation of this taboo the Santals are in no sense plant and animal worshippers. [796] It seems that their idea of bongas inhabiting all creeks and corners of nature, has been extended only to the region of certain animals and plants. In the folklore [773] the bongas are generally represented as using seats of [825] hooded cobras and certain serpents are naturally vene- rated as clan-ancestors; on the other hand, the common [262] water-snake (Dhamna) is eaten by almost all the Santals. Of the animals not eaten by the Santals all are not associated with clan-names such as the Frog, Gibbon, Elephant, Dog, etc.

771 If the religion of the Santals may thus be described 776 as veneration of a Supreme Being and reverential awe

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796 241 tied and vermilion with mustard oil painted. Friends come and go visiting one another, all (both male and female) more or less drunk and wild with excitement. [624] After all is over, the young people drink and eat in the house of the *jog-manjhi*.

[786] The other two days are for nothing but to enjoy life, merry-making going on in full swing with full sex license. For the five days and nights during which the festival lasts the Santals indulge in a veritable saturnalia giving themselves up to dancing, eating, drinking, singing and sexual license. Although this license does not allow adultery, nor does it sanction intercourse between persons of the same sept, yet if the latter offence is committed it is punished less severely than at other times.

796 **Sakrat Festival.** After this another festival known as *Sakrat* takes place on the last day of the month of [179] [226] Pous (December and January). This is an imitation of the Hindu *Pous Sankranti* festival. The Santals (only males) go out fishing to the streamlet a day before the actual festival. From the morning of that day the women are busy preparing cakes of parched rice. [262] The men folk eat curd and parched rice (chura) and go out for hunting in the morning. The cakes are first offered to the ancestors and then eaten. In the after- [526] [624] noon the *Jogmanjhi* collects all the adult males of the village in an adjoining field for archery and other sports. After that in the evening they dance and sing, drink rice beer and spend the day in various kinds of [262] amusements. On the third day they go out to the fair or market (*hut*) after eating a preparation of rice and dal boiled together.

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and it is conducted according to the provision of the Indian Christian Marriage Act.

Material Culture. Material culture of the Santals of the Santal parganas has not much changed. They now wear cotton dhuties, shirts and gangees and the women have accepted cotton saris which are used by the Hindus. The well-to-do Christian Santals wear European dress, *i.e.* coats, pants, shirts, socks and shoes. The christian women wear Saris, blouses and petti coat according to the Hindu style.

Some of the younger men and women of the Christian community go out for employment in the towns and cities and when they come back they display their superior material culture, such as fountain pen, wristwatches and other luxury goods.

Rice beer is their important drink but the Christian missionaries make propaganda in favour of total abstinence, and the Christian Santals are gradually giving up this habit and tea is being substituted for it. Machine made cigarettes are slowly coming into use.

In the preparation of rice it seems they have copied something from the Bengali Hindus. The Santals like the Bengalis use boiled rice for their food and unboiled rice for offering to their tribal deities.

The indigenous husking machine of the Santals is mortar and pestle, but they also use husking lever (dhenki) in husking rice which they have copied from their Hindu neighbours.

The Santals, when they speak among themselves, use their own language. But with the 'Dikhus' in the Santal Parganas they speak in broken Hindi and

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As the days lengthen and become warmer, other activities find their place in the routine. When the first rain has fallen the men begin to dig up the pits of rotted cow manure beside their homes, carry loads of manure to the fields, and first plough the beds where the seed rice will be sown. At the same period they carry out repairs to their houses, and the walls of new houses begin to rise. Some walls are built by constructing a screen of thin sticks on which a mud plaster is fastened, but most of the walls are built by adding a layer of wet clay to the layers which have previously dried in the sun. Timber for rafters and posts is brought from the forest, and is not always paid for. Bamboos are cut and sliced; they are needed as a foundation for the thatch. Home-made rope is prepared. Rice straw is the material commonly used for roofing.

At this time some men devote their energies to trapping and snaring. A party of men may be formed for digging out a colony of field rats which will supplement the diet. Many varieties of bird traps and snares are in use. Some have insects attached to them as bait, with birdlime to snare the birds. Others are set on the ground to catch partridge with ingenious arrangements of slip-knots and a captive bird in the centre to act as a decoy. Some of the operations call for elaborate preparation. Nets are taken down from under the rafters where they have hung since the previous year. The men seek out pools of water which may be still left in some shady hollow of the forest when most of the water has dried, for there the birds will come to drink. Traps are formed by nets, or by baskets attached by a string to where one of the men sits waiting to pull it and entrap the bird. On an April day in Barikul two parties of men set out on trapping expeditions. One of them went to a distant forest and returned with three peacocks. The other party spent the day near the banks of a nearby stream and gathered three-score birds, including doves, grey partridges, Indian drongos weaver birds and crow pheasants, all of which are eaten by the Santals.

At the same season the women find new employment. One of the commonest of the trees growing in the villages, the fields and the forests is the *mahkom* (*Bassia latifolia*, Roxb.); it has thick sepalled succulent flowers during the spring. These flowers fall from the trees during the early hours of the morning, and the women and girls rise early to collect them. They are used in a variety of ways. When dried they provide either a nutritious cattle food or a supplement for human diet. They are used in

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preparing the cakes which the men take with them at the time of the hunt. The flowers have a high sugar content, and their most common use is in the distillation of spirits, the *pauṛa* or brandy of the Santals. The work of distilling is carried on by one or two families in the village, and they sell not only to their fellow villagers, but they operate illegal liquor shops on market days. *Matkom* beer, a drink which is only slightly fermented, as it is prepared within twenty-four hours, is refreshing, but it is used chiefly for the purpose of counteracting the after-effects of a drinking bout.

The women prepare the rice beer which is brewed in all the homes. First they collect the roots that are used as fermenting agents from the forest. In this, as in most of their gathering activities, the women of the village work together. There is a certain ceremonial attached to the gathering of these roots. Parties sometimes consist of women from more than one village, and so a day for the expedition has to be fixed. The procedure suggests that this is regarded as the women's counterpart to the hunt. Before the wood is entered one of the older women invokes *Gōsāi* ("Lord", a general term used in addressing the spirits) and requests that they be led quickly to the places where they will find the desired plants. The first woman to light upon one falls on the ground, pretending to be drunk. These roots are known by the general name of *rauu ran*, "medicine of medicines". It takes three days for the beer to mature or "cook". It cannot be stored, so it is brewed fresh for festival occasions and also in the majority of houses as often as the family can afford. *Haṇḍi*, or rice beer, occupies an important place in the ritual as well as in the social life of the tribe. It is essential for all libations to the spirits. A myth relates how the secret of brewing beer was imparted to the first human beings by the chief spirit of the Santals himself. It is therefore the indispensable Santal drink. It is extremely difficult for a Santal to understand not only how a person can live without beer, but why he should try to do so. The case of Pitam, who lived near Benachapra, illustrates this. He was a man of great influence because of his powers as a witch-finder. He had, however, abandoned some of his tribal ways, and, influenced by Vaishnava Hinduism, he had given up meat eating and the drinking of intoxicants. During the annual tribal council some of his enemies charged him with undermining Santal society, and one of the counts against him was that by abstaining from beer he was doing harm to the spirits.

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that reason. Gradual deforestation and the absence of any effective protection for wild animals account for the present scarcity. Leopards, once present in great numbers, are now rare, though black bears are still relatively common. Some of the smaller kinds of Indian deer are found. It is many years since a tiger was killed in the Bankura district. Wild pigs are abundant, and so is the jungle hare, and there are many species of bird whose flesh is prized by the Santal. Every male of the tribe is an expert with the bow and arrow, and he is trained in its use from early childhood. The village parties hold together; they carry their own rations of rice and dried *mathom* cake for the night meal, and they are accompanied by their sleek and well-fed dogs. The men are dressed in loin-cloths, but they wear turbans roughly wrapped round their heads for protection against the heat of the sun. Some of the younger boys carry drums instead of weapons. The drums are used to swell the noise in the forest as the animals are driven closer towards the centre and to signal a kill, but they are also needed for the dancing that will follow. The flesh of the animals is distributed according to a regular code, though the rules are passing from use and now it is usual for the stronger of two parties to take the flesh of a kill when it is in dispute. The man who draws first blood receives the *madol*, consisting of one hind-leg, a part of which he must give to the headman of his village. If the man who first touches the animal belongs to a different village, he receives a shoulder; if it has been slain by yet another person than the one who drew first blood, the slayer receives five ribs, one fore-leg and the liver. The *dihri* receives the neck, and the remainder of the flesh goes to the co-villagers of the man who wounded the animal and not of the man who killed it. When the meat is distributed among the villagers, those who carry drums receive a double portion, and some of the meat is given to the dogs.

By evening several hundred men gather in the place where they are to spend the night. Camp fires are lit near some watercourse, and the moon rises slowly over the graceful palms that fringe the water and the belt of *sarjom* trees beyond. For some it is a night of hard work, for others it is a night of revelry. The elders from all the villages are gathered together for this one night during the year and form the supreme council of the tribe. The disputes which have baffled their several efforts in the course of the year are brought forward. Complaints involving members of more than one village are voiced and range

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614 173 held fast in a tree on the farther side. They crossed over by clinging to it, and then they began the dance, which did not finish before cockcrow. Just before they were due to return home someone from the village cut the creeper, but not so that they would notice it. They had their dancing-drums and their kettle-drums slung round their necks, and they were swinging over on their way home when suddenly they fell into the river. Now, the Besra girls were seven in number, and they had placed some fish traps into position farther down the river; as the two youths were being swept away they became caught in the fish traps. They became entangled in the trap that belonged to the family of the youngest of the Besra girls. Her six sisters became very annoyed at this and said: 'No, we shall take them. You are the youngest, and you should not be married while your elder sisters remain unmarried.' When the Ṭuḍu youths heard all this quarrelling they became very annoyed and said: 'From today we shall never marry a Besra girl.'"

Another version of the origin of the clans bears rather obvious traces of the influence of the surrounding culture by dividing them on an occupational basis after the analogy of Hindu castes. According to it, the Murmu became the priests, or Brahmins, of the tribe; a hint of this is found in the list given by Durlob Murmu, who places his own clan twelfth in the list and describes it as the clan of "the one who restores us to tribal status". The Soren were the warriors, or Kshattriyas; hence the addition to their name of the epithet *sipahi*, or "sepoy". The Mạrṇḍi were traders, the Kisku were *rajas*, the Ṭuḍu were drummers, and so on. This version, now widely current, is probably of comparatively recent date and may have arisen out of the need to compensate the Santals, or at least certain of the clans, for their low social status in the eyes of their caste Hindu neighbours.

614 The totemistic basis is very clearly marked, and in certain directions it still exercises a powerful influence on the habits of the Santals. The Hāsdāk' are always named first and they are the original clan. Their name is related to the goose and gander of the myth, from which the first human beings were born, and they do not eat either goose or duck. There can be no doubt in this case that descent from the totem animal is envisaged. On one occasion a member of the Hāsdāk' clan replied in answer to the question why they did not eat goose: "Because they are our brothers." Although presumably all Santals as well as the rest of

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the human race are also descended from the first pair, the prohibition against eating goose or duck flesh does not apply to the others. Some of the other clan names are either the same as that of the totem or are closely related to it. Mạrṇḍi is the name of a weed that is common in the rice fields; Soren is the name of the constellation Pleiades, though there appears to be no knowledge of a myth connecting the two; Ṭuḍu certainly suggests the sound made by drums. Hembrom suggests *hotrin* for deer; Kisku is not unlike *kikir*, a generic name for kingfishers; Baske is one of the words that mean "stale rice", and Murmu suggests *murum*, the buck of the traditions whose flesh the Murmu do not eat. On the other hand, it is not possible at this date to explain all the names by this type of association.

Tradition says that each of the twelve clans, or *paris*, are divided into twelve sub-clans, or *khût*. The myth about the Ṭuḍu refers to "all twelve kinds of Ṭuḍu". At the present day in the case of most of the clans there are in fact many more than twelve sub-clans. These sub-clans do not affect the rules governing marriage outside the clan. Some of the sub-clan names are found in more than one clan, and while it is unusual for the member of a sub-clan in one clan to marry a member of the corresponding sub-clan in another clan, there is no absolute barrier preventing such marriages. Inquiries made in the Santal Parganas[1] led to the tabulation of two hundred and seventy-seven different sub-clans distributed among the eleven known clans. Many of them are found under more than one clan. All those which are common to more than one clan are found also in the Bankura district, but some of the other names are unknown there, while others that are found in the Bankura district do not seem to appear farther north. Each of the sub-clans possesses a distinctive myth and also customs that differentiate it from the others, while the same is of course true of the clans. These customs affect life at many points. Apart from marriage, the taboos determine in some cases the type of ornaments which may be worn, the type of houses that may be built, and the kinds of food which must not be eaten. They are also linked with the worship of the spirits, for there are special clan and sub-clan sacrifices.

In each clan there is a division that is taken to have been the original sub-clan, the word *Nij* being prefixed to the clan name. Here, for example, is an account of the Nij Mạrṇḍi: "They are

[1] J. Gausdal, "The Khût System of the Santals", *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, 1944.

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and then a ram. The blood is placed in a vessel and fixed on the ground, surrounded with small stones. Only men may eat the meat of the animals sacrificed. The girls of this sub-clan are not allowed to wear Bengali-style *saris* or shell bracelets at the time of their marriage, though they may do so after they are married. When the men of this sub-clan are bringing brides to their home they present them with a *hasli*, the neck ring, made of brass.

A whole range of the sub-clans is known as *Sada*, or "white". They may represent a reforming element, for their characteristic is a revolt against the use of red vermilion paint. When the first ancestors of the Sada Hembrom, so it is said, were going to perform a sacrifice they thought that they had with them all that they needed, but when they reached the spot where the sacrifice was to take place it was discovered that they had left behind their supply of *sindur*, the vermilion-coloured earth that plays a large part in the Santal cult. When they saw this they completed the sacrifice without the *sindur*, and since then their descendants have been known as Sada Hembrom and they have continued to observe the custom so carelessly begun! In other ways, too, they have abjured the use of vermilion. They make no use of it in the marriage ceremonial, though once their daughters are married and have become members of other clans they may put vermilion in the parting of their hair. The cloth which is a part of the presents given at the time of marriages must be white without any border, and their womenfolk are limited to plain cloth throughout life. The same pattern of behaviour applies to all the Sada sub-clans. The Sada Hasdak', along with some other sub-clans, when they perform their sub-clan sacrifices, first of all model a scorpion out of paste made from flour and water and offer it before going on to offer a hen, then a pig, and lastly a goat. This particular sub-clan has to eat all the flesh of the animals sacrificed and they are not allowed to throw any part of it away.

Some of the Murmu sub-clans are restricted in the type of dwelling-house that they may build. The majority of Santal house roofs are constructed on what is known in Bengal as the "charchala" plan. This consists of a thatch that slopes up from each of the four walls of the house. The main beam is set well above the four walls, being smaller than the length of the house, with four corner beams fixed two at each end of the main beam and going down to the four corners of the house to form the first stage of the framework on which the thatch rests. Most of the Murmu, however, have to build up the two end walls so that

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behalf of a particular social unit, which is sometimes the whole village and sometimes as small as the family. Positively the goodwill of the *boŋgas* is retained by the observance of the due sacrifices, negatively by the observance of taboo rules. Many of the taboos operative in the daily life of the Santals can be directly traced to the necessity for safeguarding the interests of the *boŋgas*. The belief in the dangerous potentiality of women is reflected in the fact that all sacrifices are taboo for women in one sense or another. The fact that they may not eat the flesh of animals sacrificed to the *abge* has already been noted; they may not eat the flesh of any part of an animal sacrificed to *Marañ Buru*, nor the head of any animal killed in a sacrifice at all. Although they may help in the preparations for sacrifices performed in the house, they are kept away from participation in the sacred grove. No woman may climb any of the trees in the grove, nor may she be present when the sacrifices are made, nor eat of the flesh of any animal there offered. The one exception to this rule is that a portion of the flesh of sacrificed animals is reserved for the wife of the priest. Other taboos are related only indirectly to the belief in spirits. The code of behaviour between relatives is sanctioned by a belief that any infringement of its provisions will result in retaliation by the spirits, who cause such diseases as leprosy, or who will inflict dire punishment after death and make it impossible for funeral ceremonies to be duly carried out. Sometimes the retaliation acts swiftly, as in the case related by a Santal concerning an uncle. This relative was on a journey away from home. He stopped at a certain village to obtain a drink of beer, and in his haste, being exceedingly thirsty at the time, he omitted first of all to spill a few drops as a libation to *Marañ Buru* and his ancestors. This forgetfulness of a universal obligation was met apparently by almost immediate retribution. Soon after he had resumed his journey the man fell down—dead.

The *boŋgas* can be distinguished both from the Supreme Being and from various other classes of spirits by the fact that there is between them and the Santals some degree of personal relationship. Many of the *boŋgas* do not seem to have any very marked personal characteristics, but the Santal knows that in the normal course of events he will himself become a *boŋga* and will be dependent then for his happiness on those who come after him. Unless he dies in certain specified ways, once his funeral rites have been completed he will take his place among the ancestors, and his place in the hierarchy of the spirit world depends very much on his social status and correct behaviour in this one. The

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wait for men. Women are protected from the designs of these ghosts by the iron bangle which they wear.

Ghosts of the dead and other private spirits who are given the title of *boiṅga* form part of the stock-in-trade of the two classes of people among the Santals who deal regularly with the occult—the magicians and the witches. They are bitterly opposed to each other's influence, and they clash for the most part on the battleground of sickness and disease. An exhaustive treatise on the Santal attitude to disease has been published, and shows conclusively that, as with ghosts so with sickness, the ideas of the Santals are common to all the lower strata of society in North India.[1] These ideas are not simple but complex, and range from the realm of the rational to the fantastic. Disease is sometimes ascribed to natural causes, particularly when the chain of causation is fairly obvious and can be repeated in a series of experiments; there is a whole class of food described as *batol*, which means that it is unwholesome. There are hundreds of remedies that require no supernatural aid to make them effective. Some remedies are the property of all, while others are the property of individuals and the knowledge of their ingredients is a closely guarded secret. Chaitan of Churimara began his career as a physician in response to a specific need. When he was a young man a friend had come to him in great distress and said that his boy was vomiting blood. He turned to Chaitan and asked him if he knew of any medicine that would be good for the boy. Chaitan was so sorry for his friend that he promised to do something, although when he said this he had no notion what he should do. As he was setting out for his friend's house he prayed to *Cando* and asked that he might be shown what he ought to do; at the same time he shut his eyes and kicked at the soil. As he opened his eyes again he saw a plant, which he immediately dug up. He ground the roots to make a medicine, and the boy recovered from his sickness. Since then he has applied the same remedy to many other cases. One of his patients had been extremely ill, he said, but was now the father of four or five children! He has been in great demand as a physician, and claims that *Cando* subsequently revealed many remedies to him. Sometimes it is claimed that remedies are made known in dreams. The plant that was first revealed to Chaitan was the *upel tandi* plant, which has a red flower.

[1] P. O. Bodding, *Studies in Santal Medicine and Connected Folklore*, *Memoirs of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. X.